E. A. BERGMAN

PEACE NEWS

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THE UNIONS AND THE BOMB

What the Press is saying

THE decision on June 4 of the third largest Union in Britain (the National Union of General and Municipal Workers) to support unilateral nuclear disarmament was at once recognised by the Labour movement and the Press to be of major importance. There has since been continual speculation and comment.

Here are some extracts from the British Press and politicians :

On June 8 the News Chronicle welcomed the new discussion on nuclear weapons, but made no comment on its own policy. Two days later it referred to the "realists" and the "starry-eyed" in the Labour Party.

"Pacifists are entitled to their principles," it said, "but the nuclear disarmers are not entitled to speak of setting a moral example and ignore the practical consequences."

If three big Unions next month followed the example of the General and Municipal Workers "they will go far to ensure a Conservative victory."

Then on June 12 the same paper published as its leading feature Douglas Brown's Political Panorama. Under a giant six-column heading, "If he's to stay, Labour's leader, Gaitskell must toe the anti-bomb line." Douglas Brown argued that Mr. Gaitskell had to "go along with" the Party's "crucially important change of emphasis in its policy on nuclear defence," which it "is about to make."

Douglas Brown looked back over the past two and a half years and concluded: "Mr. Gaitskell may come quietly, or he may be dragged by his heels, but I have no doubt that he will fall into line.

"Of course there will be controversy about what the new policy means exactly. What I do know is that for two years past this Party has sat upon its conscience and trampled on its soul, and any attempt to club' policy without breaking up the North Atlantic alliance, and indeed without weakening it, so long as it was presented as a policy and not as an almighty urge to get away from a nasty problem by turning our backs on it."

"The unilateral disarmers," the editorial concluded, "have never coherently explained whether the end of it all is to be unarmed pacifism, armed neutrality, or (as has sometimes been suggested) continuing membership in NATO for a Britain limited to conventional weapons—a manifest absurdity.

"In spite of the Municipal Workers' vote, it is hard to believe that the Labour movement is going to veer as far as anything at once so sweeping and so vague."

Tribune on June 12 found it had no essential points of difference with Mr. Benn

LATEST UNION MOVES

Last Sunday the annual conference of the 20,000-strong Chemical Workers' Union unanimously approved a resolution, proposed on behalf of its Executive, calling for the ending of production by Britain of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Mr. Bob Edwards, MP, General Secretary of the Union, summed up its attitude in the phrase: "Loyalty to humanity is much more important than loyalty to Party or leaders."

A group within the 50,000-strong Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union are

the Labour Party's electoral prospects and all hope of success afterwards.

"We must not rock the Labour boat," he added. "Our best way to avoiding that is clearly to stand together on the agreed declared policy of the Party, certainly until we agree what changes are required to meet a changing situation."

The same day, Mr. Jo. Grimond, the Liberal leader, said that up to then the Labour Party had agreed with the Government's "disastrous defence policy" in all essentials.

Not conviction

Referring to the vote of the General and Municipal Workers, he asked: "Can anyone view with equanimity the possibility that the defence of this country should be determined by the card vote of the trades unions?"

If the Labour Party were "converted to Liberal policy on the nuclear bomb it will be a conversion by Union funds. In fact, a conversion from cupboard love and not conviction.

"The perilous position of a Party financed by trade unions" raised the question: "Should the defence of Britain be determined by the card vote?"

"What, in any case," he asked, "does the pronouncement that Britain should join the 'non-nuclear club' mean? Does it mean that the Unions think we should leave the Western alliance and NATO?"

The Observer's Political Correspondent commented on June 14: "There now seems little doubt that the Labour Party will revise its policy on the H-bomb. Or perhaps it would be fairer to say that it will change the emphasis."

Having named the General and Municipal Workers "the best drilled, the tamest and

Mr. Frank Cousins or the leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament."

Ivan Yates, political columnist of Reynolds News, commented on June 14: "Now the time has come to write the suggestion (that Britain should organise a non-nuclear club) into the Party's policy.

"We may safely assume that, after consideration by the National Executive and consultation with the TUC General Council, this will be done. Probably before the end of this month.

"But what if other countries refuse to join with us in a joint act of renunciation? Do we shrug our shoulders and wait for the holocaust? Or do we lead the way and hope that others will follow when *their* people, too, are ready to take the plunge?

"One day an answer to those questions will have to be given. But not yet. To answer now—either way—would be to jeopardise the success of the negotiations which Labour will pledge itself to undertake. . ."

The Political Correspondent of The Times, writing on June 15, quoted for Mr. Gaitskell's benefit the advice of Speaker Macaulay in 1831: "Therefore be content to guide that movement which you cannot stop. Fling wide the gates to that force which else will enter through the breach."

The writer continued: "None should know better than (the Labour leadership) that during the past few months Labour's official policy, as it is set down in the joint declaration on disarmament and nuclear weapons (with the TUC on March 6, 1958), has been outflanked by both the Government and the Liberals.

Lurking doubts

"The Labour leaders and the TUC," the

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"Of course there will be controversy about what the new policy means exactly. What I do know is that for two years past this Party has sat upon its conscience and trampled on its soul, and any attempt to sort out its contradictions deserves sympathy and respect."

More stockpiling

There was dissension in the Labour Party last week when some 80 MPs signed a resolution protesting against accepting the additional stockpiling of atomic weapons in Britain instead of in France. Mr. Gaitskell, however, overruled their objection on June 11.

The Political Correspondent of The Times commented: "Some back-benchers who signed the motion seem to have hastened to make it clear that they were unwilling to press their views to the danger point where the Parliamentary Party would be divided."

In a letter to the Manchester Guardian on June 12 Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall rejected as "strategic nonsense" the idea that decisions to push buttons should be in the hands of several nations.

Another letter, from Mr. Konni Zilliacus, MP, urged that the only way out of the nuclear dilemma was for Britain to "stop making nuclear weapons and to prohibit their use from her territory."

"That will give us the moral stature, freedom of political manœuvre, and hold on political opinion everywhere necessary to secure acceptance in both Washington and Moscow, and so in Europe and Asia, too, of Labour's proposals for disengagement, disarmament and East-West co-operation through the United Nations as a basis for negotiation."

In an editorial the same day, under the title "Great Debate," the Manchester Guardian tabulated some possible positions on the Bomb. "The Labour movement," it concluded, "could adopt the 'non-nuclear essential points of difference with Mr. Benn

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A group within the 50,000-strong Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union are circularising members asking if they are in favour of a referendum on the subject. Under Union rules such a referendum would only be held if at least one tenth of the members asked for it. The question did not come up at the Union's conference this year. Last year the Union rejected demands for nuclear disarmament.

Levy, of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's National Executive, who had written to them about their policy concerning a non-nuclear club.

Mr. Levy maintained that the Campaign must continue to insist on *unilateral* action to form such a club.

Anything else "would give those who disagree with us at least the *appearance* of having a policy at last, though in fact the existing deadlock would remain unaltered . . . One cannot subscribe to both policies. Any well-meaning but muddle-headed attempt to do so would be deplorable now that the tide is running so strongly in our favour."

Tribune replied that if Labour "adopts the non-nuclear club policy, we should regard that as a partial victory, not a disappointment. However, it is not for the Campaigners to lower their sights and make a partial victory their target."

Last week's issue of Forward, the Labour weekly, which reflects the Party leadership's views, did not even notice that the Municipal Workers had had their Conference, let alone made their decision or started a great debate!

The Communist Daily Worker, in an editorial on June 13, called for an international agreement to ban all the bombs.

Mr. George Brown, Labour's Shadow Defence Minister, said at Nottingham on June 13 that the wrong attitude to defence and foreign policy problems could wreck a conversion from cupboard love and not conviction.

"The perilous position of a Party financed by trade unions" raised the question: "Should the defence of Britain be determined by the card vote?"

"What, in any case," he asked, "does the pronouncement that Britain should join the 'non-nuclear club' mean? Does it mean that the Unions think we should leave the Western alliance and NATO?"

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Having named the General and Municipal Workers "the best drilled, the tamest and the most faithful body in the trades union movement," the Political Correspondent described the Labour leadership's dilemma thus: "If it stood firm, it would probably be defeated at the annual conference. If it compromised, everybody would say that it had ignominiously surrendered to the unions."

The article continued: "The National Executive (of the Labour Party) is all the more eager for a decision because it thinks it has the answer. Britain, the leadership now thinks, should form the non-nuclear club. Britain should say to those countries who have not yet got the bomb that she will renounce the manufacture of all nuclear weapons.

Valueless

"Whether this would satisfy the supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament seems more than doubtful. It will depend on how the new policy is worded. If the proposal is that Britain should do a deal—if a Labour Government is to say: 'We will give up the bomb provided you do the same'—then some Socialists are already arguing that the offer would be valueless. Since the French would almost certainly not agree, Britain would be making a meaningless and hypocritical gesture.

"Thus the crisis in the Labour Party is by no means over. It may, in fact, have only just begun. . . .

"It seems quite clear that Mr. Gaitskell is not prepared to advocate any form of unilateral disarmament; indeed, he is insisting that even if everybody agrees to join the club, Britain should insist on strict control and inspection.

"Thus the signs are that any change in the Party's policy will not satisfy either

Times, writing on June 15, quoted for Mr. Gaitskell's benefit the advice of Speaker Macaulay in 1831: "Therefore be content to guide that movement which you cannot stop. Fling wide the gates to that force which else will enter through the breach."

The writer continued: "None should know better than (the Labour leadership) that during the past few months Labour's official policy, as it is set down in the joint declaration on disarmament and nuclear weapons (with the TUC on March 6, 1958), has been outflanked by both the Government and the Liberals.

Lurking doubts

"The Labour leaders and the TUC," the Political Correspondent went on, "are expected to find a form of words of the sort that yields the meanings put into it by the reader and the hearer.

"Yet there will be lurking doubts in the minds of those MPs who lately heard M. Soustelle talking in private of the French Government's resolution to become a nuclear Power. Is that not a rock to sink the non-nuclear club before they are really afloat?

". . . In short, Mr. Gaitskell is likely to see some reason for conceding with grace the proposal for a non-nuclear club so that he may refuse with the more authority the demand now arising in the trade unions for the unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons."

The News Chronicle commented on June 15 that Mr. Gaitskell "would almost certainly rally a good deal of support by changing present Labour policy on the Bomb: but if he appeared to do it as a political manœuvre he would make himself fatally suspect to the public.

"Even an offer to give up the Bomb provided other nations did the same would look hollow: everyone knows that nations like France would never agree."

The Labour Party, the News Chronicle concluded, "is now face to face with its own political conscience; and it will earn the respect of the country in the degree to which it follows its beliefs, irrespective of fund-raising votes."

The Manchester Guardian again returned to the subject on June 16 in its leading editorial. Unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons, as distinct from abandoning the manufacture of an independent British "deterrent," would, the Guardian insisted, most probably destroy the Atlantic Alliance; "it can never be accepted by any political Party which hopes to govern this country."

RAW MATERIALS

W. H. Marwick reviews

Raw Materials; a Study of American Policy, by Percy W. Bidwell. Harper Bros. New York, 1958.

THIS book is sponsored by the USA Council on Foreign Relations, an influential and professedly non-partisan body, under the Chairmanship of the eminent banker John J. McCloy, "devoted to study of the international aspects of American political, economic and strategic problems."

The substance was discussed by the author with members of a study group which included leading business men, officials and economists. It is a substantial volume of some 400 pages, largely factual, with a mass of statistics. The gist of the argument is contained in the first three and the final chapters; the remainder comprises a detailed exposition of the geographical, historical and economic situation of the chief raw materials.

The main theme is that the USA, hitherto largely self-sufficient, has during the last half century become increasingly dependent on import because of expanding demand and depletion of internal resources. The supplying countries correspondingly come to rely for their prosperity on the maintenance of their American market. Nearly 40 per cent of the "Free World's" output of basic materials is exported to the USA; much of this comes from the Western hemisphere. Imports of iron ore, e.g., have risen since the last war from less than one to over 25 per cent, over 90 per cent of which comes in almost equal proportions from Latin America and Canada; about two-thirds of oil and mineral development in Canada is controlled by American capital, while Canada sells 60 per cent of its imports to the USA, and buys from the USA three-fourths of US imports.

★

For the Council, "increasing reliance on foreign sources of supply for strategic materials raises questions of national security." The extent to which the development of the American economy has been affected by power politics is clearly demonstrated, and illustrates Wright Mills' assertion of the interconnection of military and economic elements in the "Power Elite," as well as the competition of pressure groups to obtain legislative privileges, e.g., tariff protection for their own economic interests. "Policies were shaped in response to the demands of individuals or corporations who

the extent of accumulated stocks now in excess of contemporary needs may "exert a depressing influence on world markets." The changes in techniques of war and in the balance of forces may make this "expensive programme" another case of "preparing the nation for the *last* war." The theme of the "scramble for supplies" induced by the Korean War is a recurrent note, e.g., "sky rocketing" of wool prices and subsequent collapse, "serious shortage of raw materials" for industrial production, dislocation of world trade—all underlying the lunacy as well as criminality of that most fatuous of wars.

It is recognised that "problems of raw materials are not exclusively matters of geology or economics; they lie rather in the realms of politics," particularly the attitude of the less developed countries and their revolt against colonialism. The correlation between the growth of American economic imperialism and the trends in trade and investment already indicated is too obvious for emphasis; equally clear is the reaction, e.g., in the Canadian Election and the Cuban revolt against American financial domination. The writer can offer only the orthodox answer that for the USA "there is no national security outside the framework of collective security."

Internal concentration of ownership and control, notably in the case of copper, is made clear. Oil and rubber, the prime essentials of modern transport and of modern war, and instruments of conspicuous waste and ostentatious leisure, receive particular attention, e.g., the rapid development of synthetic rubber production under government auspices and its transfer to private ownership; the conflict of interest between small local producers of oil and the "big five" with large overseas interests; hence American concern with the politics of the Near East and of Venezuela. Nickel is "one of the newer metals"; its use for armour plate and later for aircraft has the result that it "comes closest to being a true war metal." It is dominated by the International Nickel Co., centred in Canada, but with US ownership of almost half the capital.

Metals are irreplaceable "wasting assets"; wool, a natural growth, is yet a declining industry, despite government aid, owing to competition of other types of farming, of synthetic fibres, and of low cost imports of superior quality. These and other details exemplify and confirm the inherent "contradictions" of this "classic" case of military and capitalistic imperialism.

CHRISTIANS AND WAR—

A new campaign in Church of England

GET every parish priest in Britain to discuss the Lambeth Conference declaration: "War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ."

This is the task that members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship have been asked to undertake by their Chairman, Canon T. B. Scrutton. The work is to be separately organised in each diocese.

They have been asked:

(a) To send a copy of a new APF leaflet "Incompatibility—War and Christ" to every parish priest in the diocese, with a letter asking him to hold a meeting of his Church people; and

(b) to approach the bishop and ask him to encourage the parishes in his diocese to put Resolution 107 of the 1958 Lambeth Conference into effect.

Resolution 107 reads: "The Conference calls Christians to subject to intense prayer and study their attitudes to the issues involved in modern war."

Pacifists in the Church of England are asked to send their names and addresses to the APF at 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1, if they are willing to take part in this organised effort.

ON THE FRONTIER

By the Rev. Tom Wardle

I HAVE been asked by friends on both sides of the Atlantic to say something more about a couple of phrases that I used in a recent article in this column. One of these was the concluding sentence of the article—"after all, he who has not resolved the problem of God, has not solved anything."

I used the term "resolved" here rather than "solved" because I don't believe that what I have called "the problem of God" is a problem in the logical sense of the word as the cause of cancer is a problem. All problems are probably ultimately mathematical: they are difficulties arising from inadequate knowledge. They have to do with data and relations. They are dealt

Naked realism

THIS then is the resolution of the mystery of God. It is not broken down as an equation is broken down; it simply ceases to be a "problem." When men want to point to the possibility

seek to escape from them; though existence may not add up, it is nevertheless meaningful. He sticks with the mystery and through the travail that it brings finds at last a composure and a satisfaction; the great logical conundrum is resolved—in and through all things there is invincible power *and* irreducible love. The consciousness of this is immediate and humbling. He calls it the discovery of God.

It is this which gives the otherwise impressive anti-nuclear demonstrations their lack of bite. It is not to be overcome by rallies of the Christian remnant. Something deeper than this is called for: believer and agnostic have got to come together, not merely for political purposes, but for philosophic purposes, with minds and hearts open and generous towards each other. Out of this could come a new power.

[Letters concerning "On the Frontier" are welcomed by the writer c/o Peace News. Those intended for publication should be sent to the Editor, PN.]

NOW OUT

ports to the USA, and buys from the USA three-fourths of US imports.

★

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Stockpiling has since the Second World War been "the centre of national policy";

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I used the term "resolved" here rather than "solved" because I don't believe that what I have called "the problem of God" is a problem in the logical sense of the word as the cause of cancer is a problem. All problems are probably ultimately mathematical: they are difficulties arising from inadequate knowledge. They have to do with data and relations. They are dealt with by the usual techniques of scientific investigation.

From what we know of problem-solving in the past it is reasonable to assume that current problems like the origin of schizophrenia or the construction of a man-carrying satellite can be solved. The possibility of an answer is given in the nature of the question.

Mystery

It is not so with God. God would be better described as mystery rather than problem, but I was involved in a language difficulty which required me to use the latter word in the article referred to. Mystery is of a different order from problem. Mysteries are, for example, birth, pain, marriage, life, death. They do not admit of "solutions" because the questions they raise are questions not about function, but about human existence. To elaborate the chemistry of pain is not to eliminate the mystery of pain as a psychological experience.

Now there will be many who would argue that while life and death are mysterious in that they do not contain their own explanations this is no justification for inventing another mystery, God. Religious people ought to respect the attitudes of atheists and agnostics of integrity for their positions often spring from a deep concern for realism and honesty, and this is in my view a religious concern.

Yet the man of faith is he who through reflection upon the unsolvable mysteries of his existence has moved into a condition where the whole jumble of life reduces itself to a point of meaning. He is no better able to explain the universe than the next man, but he is able to live significantly.

He does not deny the tragedy and absurdity with which life abounds, nor does he seek to escape from them; though existence may not add up, it is nevertheless meaningful. He sticks with the mystery and through the travail that it brings finds at last a composure and a satisfaction; the great logical conundrum is resolved—in and through all things there is invincible power *and* irreducible love. The consciousness of this is immediate and humbling. He calls it the discovery of God.

Naked realism

THIS then is the resolution of the mystery of God. It is not broken down as an equation is broken down; it simply ceases to be a "problem." When men want to point to the possibility of this profound psychological experience (not an eccentric or unique or other worldly experience) they cannot effectively use the language of logic. The knowledge of the presence of God cannot be communicated in an argument. Many have tried this with remarkable lack of success. It is communicated by symbol, but the symbol must lead to the experience, it cannot take its place.

In the Bible there is a wealth of such symbolism. Where the Bible is treated as a historical treatise the point is lost. Its historicity is dubious to say the least. But there is about so many of its situations a naked realism that shatters the illusions and pretences of complacent existence. It is challenging in the extreme. It forces the mind to grapple with mystery.

This is what I meant by "Biblical realism." In the past century there has been a tendency to regard science as religion in a new form and the evidence of biology as pointing towards inevitable moral progress. This really is without any foundation since morals owe nothing to science but only to men's judgments about life and behaviour.

A new power

ALL this may seem rather remote from the immediate concerns of pacifists and all those who grapple with the "problems" of war and poverty and inhumanity; but it has appeared clear to me for some time that the so-called progressive movement at large is suffering basically today from the lack of what Schweitzer calls a "life-view." There is still a good deal of wishful thinking, of sentimentality and of sheer confusion among its members. Principally there is still the hang-over from nineteenth century idealism which is so utterly out of key with the intractable facts of existence.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

Get *busy*

THE British Labour Party's Annual Conference is to be held this year at Blackpool in the week starting September 5. It will last from the Monday to Friday inclusive.

Resolutions for the preliminary Conference Agenda must be sent to Labour Party headquarters by July 10. Then amendments to resolutions (and resolutions proposing to amend the Party Constitution and Standing Orders) must be forwarded by August 21.

Nominations for the election of the National Executive Committee and officers of the Party must also be sent by this date. Delegates to the Conference must be notified by September 11.

We very much hope that the critical situation that is developing with the erection of missile bases in Britain will encourage a host of motions urging the abandonment of such monstrous and useless weapons and the withdrawal of Britain from the power struggle.

It would be encouraging to see more motions urging the positive policy aspects of peacemaking, the need for a full consideration of non-violent resistance, and the urgent necessity for the formation of an international movement of socialist war-resistance. Don't expect the motions to get on the final agenda—but get busy!

Radical approaches

DWIGHT MACDONALD was in London recently, talking to the Universities and Left Review Club. In the course of his talk Macdonald confessed that he was no longer seriously interested in politics.

It seems a long time since the middle 1940s when Macdonald was a pacifist anarchist and edited "Politics," one of the most exciting political magazines ever published.

Macdonald's change of position has important lessons for pacifists. He saw through the conventional political approaches, he saw that political parties, which only saw human beings as "the masses" or "voters," would soon forget human beings instead of as impersonal units in the mass sum.

"The shallowness of the New Deal and the British Labour Party's post-war régime is shown by their failure to improve any of the important things in people's lives—the actual relationships on the job, the way they spend their leisure, and child rearing and sex and art.

"It is mass living that vitiates all these to-day and the State that holds together the status quo. Marxism glorifies 'the masses' and endorses the state. Anarchism leads back to the individual and community, which is 'impractical' but necessary—that is to say, it is revolutionary."

As bold as (top) brass

THE ability of the top brass to deceive themselves (if not us) was incidentally demonstrated in an amusing story I heard last week from a distinguished American passing through London.

Let him tell the tale for himself:

"I am always amused by these generals . . . they all profess to be pacifists, you know. 'We hate war,' they say. 'We know better than anyone else what war is. We hate it.'

"I shall never quite forget one day when I was in Yokohama, Japan, and the General in charge of the troops there said to me: 'We're going to have a parade tomorrow. I'm reviewing the Eighth Army. Will you join me on the reviewing stand?'

"I said: 'General, I don't think that would be the place for me. I'm a life-long pacifist.' 'Oh,' he said, 'Mr. Baldwin, we're all pacifists here. You'll feel quite at home!'"

The American pacifist was, of course, Dr. Roger Baldwin, who for thirty years was Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union (and the end of the story was: "I went down and reviewed the army")!

This summer will actually see several visitors to Britain of men who, like Dr. Baldwin, are well-known personalities in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The International FoR office in London (185 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1), through which they may all be contacted, tells me that the Rev. Glenn E. Smiley, Field Secretary of the American FoR, will arrive on September 3. He is well known in the States for his work in the field of racial integration, and in fact sat next to the Rev. Martin Luther King on the very first desegregated bus in Montgomery, Alabama, at the conclusion of the successful non-violent bus boycott of segregated buses.

Two other Americans who will be coming to Britain are Professor Douglas Steere, Chairman of the North American Committee of the International FoR, who will be in Britain from July 6—21, and the Rev. J. Nevin Sayre, a Joint Treasurer of the IFoR, who stays from July 9—26.

Finally, the Rev. Arthur Blaxall of Johannesburg is, of course, still in Britain, and will be speaking at a delegate conference in Halifax, Yorks, tomorrow week (June 27) on "Racial Justice and the Future of Africa." This is organised by the West Riding FoR (8 Grosvenor Terrace, Otley, Yorks.).

—Phyz

No one else does it

IN our last issue but one we described how newspapers with some reputation for honesty suppressed news of great importance. We quote the case of The Times which made no mention of the Albert Hall meeting organised by Christian Action and the Friends Peace Committee. The second case was the New York Times suppression of the news of an American series of nuclear tests.

The popular Press in both America and Britain is much worse in this respect. News of great importance is often never mentioned at all or treated in a very inadequate manner.

Peace News aims to make up for the deficiencies of the Press. We try to publish the news that the other papers ignore or play down. In the same issue as we mentioned the suppressions we gave details of the way in which the American Atomic Energy Commission distorted information about the effects of nuclear testing. This was news that nobody in Britain had printed before.

If we are to continue to fulfil this function we need your help. The cost of producing a newspaper of any kind these days is very high and Peace News needs all the help it can get.

Contributions since June 5: £34 16s. 7d.
Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £452 13s. 6d.
Still needed: £2,047.

ALAN LOVELL

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Ruislip, £1.

Please makes cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Why not an appeal to the people, Mr. Mills?

By DAVID WIECK

Some months ago we published a review of C. Wright-Mills' book "The Causes of World War Three." Though Professor Mills' book was concerned with the general world situation, it was specifically directed towards America. For this reason we are very glad to be able to reprint this comment on the book by an American, David Wieck, who is Editor of the American anarchist review, Resistance, and a frequent contributor to the American monthly

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Suppose now instead a rigorous social scientist, for example Mills, were to take as his point of departure and constant point of reference, not the world competition or the democratic state, but primary human values conceived (say) in Dewey's best concrete manner.

What sort of programme might be fashion? I wonder if, in our day, such an

DWIGHT MACDONALD was in London recently, talking to the Universities and Left Review Club. In the course of his talk Macdonald confessed that he was no longer seriously interested in politics.

It seems a long time since the middle 1940s when Macdonald was a pacifist anarchist and edited "Politics," one of the most exciting political magazines ever published.

Macdonald's change of position has important lessons for pacifists. He saw through the conventional political approaches, he saw that political parties, which only saw human beings as "the masses" or "voters," would soon forget that there were such things as human beings. But having seen this, he was unable to see a way forward. What action did people who held a pacifist anarchist position take to make their beliefs effective? Macdonald was unable to answer this question.

It is only now that pacifists are beginning to give an answer. Through small groups like Non-violent Action in the United States and the Direct Action Committee in Great Britain, they are beginning to take effective action against nuclear war.

Macdonald was unlucky in that he saw things too early and was unable to maintain his isolated position. Whatever his position now, however, his "Politics" essays, particularly The Root is Man and The Responsibility of Peoples, are supremely worth reading. I quote one passage from The Root is Man to show how suggestive the essay is:

"The revolutionary alternative to the status quo today is not collectivised property administered by a 'Workers' State,' whatever *that* means, but some kind of anarchist decentralisation that will break up mass society into small communities where individuals can live together as variegated would be the place for me. I'm a life-long pacifist.' 'Oh,' he said, 'Mr. Baldwin, we're

—**Phyz**

MABEL EYLES

(Duplicating, Shorthand, Typing, Translating)
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DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
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Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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By DAVID WIECK

IN "The Causes of World War III"* C. Wright Mills offers the following argument (I paraphrase):

1. War is lunacy, is the enemy.

2. Its coming is not, as the morally insensible take it, altogether a matter of fate, for progress of industrial society has centralised power in such a way that certain human beings, the power elite, make important choices, tending to war or peace.

3. The choices these groups make are hastening the tendency to war, because they act as one would expect irresponsible soldiers and businessmen to act in a political vacuum (the US).

4. The problem is how to cause them or their successors to make the right choices, such as reduction of armaments, missile-base withdrawals, earnest negotiations, generous economic assistance to the "under-developed countries," etc.; choices which would reduce the likelihood of war, favour democratic tendencies in the under-developed countries, and affect the attitudes of the Russian power elite.†

5. The means for achieving rational decision-making in the power groups is (proposed as) a resolute stand on the part of the intellectual community — intellectuals, scientists, ministers — who are to demand responsibility of the powerful, to act responsibly, to inquire and discuss with utter frankness, to refuse to do what is idiotic, to stir the public, and eventually, by taking a Utopian stand against the crackpot realism, to bring about certain key institutional changes, namely, a "publicly responsible economy," the liberation of science from military control, the ramification of democratic organisations of the public.

A great deal here (esp. under 1 and 5) is very, very good, presented ably, forcefully and with uncommon conviction. Mills knows that the "power elite" is not going to adopt his proposals. He formulates "immediate demands," I take it, chiefly to dramatise how a sane nation would act in the insane international situation.

But why on earth, one would like to know, does he address his appeal to the occupational intellectuals, and not to — people? After all, if a utopian vision, no matter whose, is to be realised—and Mills is right that the short-run "practical" will just not do—then "the mass" is going to have to dis-aggregate ultimately into individuals, and re-form into human communities.

A second handbook

Thinking this, one had better have something to say to—people. I assume that Mills is not merely reacting to the old foolish populist rhetoric, so perhaps he means to write a second handbook for all of us; if he does, however, he will be obliged, in order to come to grips with his problems, to skew his perspective considerably, and leave for a time the high level of political-sociological abstractions. Whenever one writes in terms of great matters like war, peace, publics, democratic states, and so on, it is all but impossible to keep (what should be) the fundamental concerns from becoming, somehow, very distorted.

Thus, I assume that Mills, like John Dewey at his best, takes as primary, as the fundamental concerns, the values to be realised in human life: the love-work-play-art-learning occasions in the day-to-day living of individuals. I asume this, but I do not read it off the book. These concerns emerge here, negatively only as—the private troubles of individuals, to be translated into public issues. (I do not understand what Mills sees in this phrase "private troubles.")

Suppose now instead a rigorous social scientist, for example Mills, were to take as his point of departure and constant point of reference, not the world competition or the democratic state, but primary human values conceived (say) in Dewey's best concrete manner.

What sort of programme might be fashion? I wonder if, in our day, such an analysis could end in affirmation of the State. I wonder whether the scientist would not be impelled to look for alternatives to the centralisation of power, rather than for ways to utilise that centralised power. I wonder whether it might not be a surprising and exciting programme—Utopian, of course, but this is already agreed on.

In the light of such an analysis, would not the ugly dichotomy of intellectuals and mass, on which Mills' programme rests, be seen as itself one of the root social evils?

Meanwhile, anyone who desires can, without difficulty, transpose to his own situation Mills' many excellent suggestions for action, of which my summary (under 5 above) gives only a sketchy idea.

**New York: Simon & Schuster. 172 pp. Cloth, $3.50; paper, $150. London: Secker & Warburg 15s.*

†Mills sees the world still power-polarised to the US and Russia (neglecting China). It does not affect the questions I will discuss, but I do not think this is up-to-date.

Briefly

The Prison Commission say they have destroyed the prints and negatives of photos of a conscientious objector taken for record purposes shortly after his admission to Wormwood Scrubs Prison. A complaint had been sent to the Home Office by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors drawing attention to this irregularity.

A garden party to commemorate World Children's Day will be held by the North London Action Council for War on Want at the Muswell Hill Friends Meeting House, Church Crescent, N.10, on Saturday, June 27, at 2.30 p.m.

Britain is now to donate £250,000—more than double the original figure—towards the assistance of refugees this year.

A Nuclear Tests Protest Committee has been set up in South Africa by two women authors, Mrs. te Groen and Mrs. Kruger.

PEACE NEWS

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NEWS AND VIEWS

THE TIMES did not report the "War Challenges Christians" meeting, held in London last month. Challenged by the Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster about this, The Times published a leader justifying itself.

The Quaker weekly, the Friend, has performed a service by its careful examination of this justification. With most of what the Friend says we are in agreement. There is, however, one point on which we differ.

The Friend accepts that there is a distinction between "news" values and "moral" values. Judging by moral values, it was wrong of The Times to devote so much space to a Fascist meeting in Trafalgar Square. But judging by "news" values it was quite right to do so.

The Friend suggests, however, that The Times' definition of news values is not an adequate one. The Times' definition was the new, the novel, the arresting event. This needed to be supplemented, said the Friend, by the reporting of opinion.

★ ★

BOTH these definitions leave a very important question unanswered. In any one day a great deal that could come under the heading of the new, the novel and the arresting or the expression of opinion occurs. Famous people die, new factories are built, aeroplanes fly faster, meetings and demonstrations are held, bishops air their opinions, generals make impassioned pleas for peace, and trade unions issue statements. Faced with all these happenings, a newspaper has two problems:

1. **With its limited space, which events shall it report and which shall it ignore?**
2. **Which events deserve the most space in the paper?**

At Geneva: playing to the gallery

IT is not a hopeful sign for the world's welfare that the Liberace libel case is crowding the Foreign Affairs Ministers' conference at Geneva off the main pages of British newspapers. Geneva, one might think, is more important than whether a much publicised public entertainer has been fairly, or unfairly, criticised by a widely publicised newspaper columnist.

The order of priority in Western representatives' anxiety for success at Geneva has not changed. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd remains more concerned about success and more optimistic about it than others as we are going to press. After him comes Mr. Herter, and a great distance behind, M. Couve de Murville. Herr von Brentano, faithfully carrying out Adenauer's instructions, makes no secret of his wish for failure. The Chancellor does not want anything capable of leading up to the acknowledgement that, for better or worse, there are now two Germanys.

Last week's manœuvring was, in part at least, playing to the gallery. The West's harsh denunciation of the proposal that the occupation régime in Berlin should be liquidaded within a year (failing which Moscow would conclude a separate peace treaty with East Germany) as a threat and an ultimatum was plausible but not altogether convincing. After it, the Gromyko denial of threat or ultimatum could be presented (to the home publics) as a Soviet climb-down.

The Russians promptly replied that their proposal had not been meant as either a threat or an ultimatum, and that Mr. Gromyko's immediate declaration to this effect, following the Western reaction to it, was yet another proof of the Soviet's deep anxiety to make allowances for the exaggerated susceptibilities of a rigidly stiff-necked West.

As we are going to press the fate of the conference hangs in the balance. But fundamental facts remain fundamental no matter how much they may be overlaid with diplomatic wrangling.

It would seem sensible to admit that the Russians "have something" in wanting the Berlin occupation régime brought to an end, now that 14 years have passed since its institution, and that it is unrealistic to tie this issue up closely with the reunification of Germany.

It also seems common sense not to allow Dr. Adenauer to be the arbiter of Western policy. If his wishes are complied with, not only will the occupation régime in Berlin go on for a length of time no one can possibly calculate, but also the reunification of Germany cannot be imagined in any shape or form—or even an approach to it—without the outbreak of a war likely to become nuclear—in which case reunity in shambles and putrefaction is the only reasonable

Since Florida made rape a capital offence in 1924, 34 Negroes and only one white man have been electrocuted for the offence. In this week's case the verdict of guilty was clearly a shock to local whites, and it was only the all-male, all-white jury's recommendation of mercy which spared the accused from the death sentence.

The Florida tradition has nevertheless been maintained, under which no white man has ever been sentenced to death for the rape of a Negress, although Negroes have been so sentenced for the rape of white women. US Negro leaders in both the North and the South viewed the trial as a test of Southern justice because of the "double standard" of justice for whites and non-whites, not only in Florida but throughout the six Deep South States.

The four white men come up for sentence next month and can be given anything from probation to life imprisonment. Meanwhile they await sentence in Florida's State penitentiary—where four Negroes are waiting to go to the electric chair for rape.

But the present situation marks important changes. It is only 20 years since a Southern judge dismissed a very similar case on the grounds that there is no such crime as rape where a coloured woman was concerned. And now white men have not hesitated to testify against white defendants.

Defence positions

THE decision of the Municipal and General Workers Union to support a motion calling for the abolition of all British nuclear weapons and the removal of nuclear weapons from British territory has reopened the general debate about nuclear armaments. In view of the great number of positions about nuclear weapon policies it is perhaps worth outlining some of them.

IN PERSPECTIVE

There are about four main positions taken by people who want a change in the present defence policy.

The simplest position is that of the Liberal Party, which argues that Britain should give up the manufacture of an independent nuclear deterrent and rely on the American deterrent. Britain should concentrate on developing conventional forces. This is also the position of the Observer as expressed in its main leader last Sunday and of the Manchester Guardian.

The second position is one taken by many people in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament including a member of its executive committee, Mr. Benn Levy. This position argues that Britain should give up all reliance on nuclear weapons, whether of the

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It is here that responsible newspapers have to make value judgments of some kind. If you use the definition of The Times you land yourself in the position of the popular papers where the doings of Lady Docker invariably take precedence over the effects of H-bomb fall-out, etc. Even if you accept the extended definition of the Friend you still have to decide which opinion is the most significant.

The kind of choices you make will depend very much on your moral values. If you accept conventional moral values you will report politicians' speeches, statesmen's conferences, the Trooping of the Colour, etc., but if your values are not conventional (as pacifist values surely are not) you find other events more worthy of report. David Bell's refusal to co-operate with the conscription laws becomes more important than a top general's pronouncements about the state of the world. The action of the International Voluntary Service in repairing houses in Notting Hill that were damaged by the race riots will get more prominence than statements by the Home Secretary about the situation in the area.

★ ★

BY doing this, a newspaper is not imposing a biassed view of the world on its readers. The point is that there is no such thing as an impartial view.

This was highlighted by the New York Times' explanation of its decision not to report the Project Argus series of bomb tests when it first received news of these tests. The NY Times argued that since it had been urged by military men and scientists not to publish the news, it would have been entering the propaganda field if it had set its judgment above theirs and published the news.

But by not publishing the news it had entered the propaganda field—only in this instance it had entered the propaganda field on the side of the Government and the military. And when you come in on this side, you can usually describe yourself as behaving "impartially."

At a time when Press and television almost without exception line up with the Government under this pretext of impartiality, it is important to see the phoneyness of the position. The choices journalists make (or anybody else, for that matter) will always be determined to some extent by their moral values. The only impartial people are dead people.

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Honour bright?

ANOTHER of the traditional mechanisms of British society was seen at work last week-end. On Saturday the Queen's birthday honours list was issued.

Normally it is easy enough to ignore the honours lists. All the awards seem to be for political mediocrity or social safeness. But this year the Queen's advisers made a first-class mistake. They awarded the Senior Superintendent of Prisons in Kenya, Mr. Cowan, the MBE. Mr. Cowan was severely criticised for the part he played in the Hola camp murders by the magistrate who investigated the case.

This makes it clear what Honours really are. They are generally not impartial awards to people who have served the country well. Rather are they political rewards to those who have served the ruling circles well. Of course, this is disguised by awards to people who deserve them, from famous artists to people who have run post offices efficiently.

We are not sure that an Honours List is ever necessary; we are great believers in the old saying that virtue is its own reward. But whatever we feel about them, this year's list has surely been made a complete mockery by the award to Mr. Cowan. Might it not be a good idea if all the people who deserved and received Honours this year refused to accept them as a protest against Mr. Cowan's MBE?

Southern justice

AT Tallahassee, Florida, on Sunday, four young white men were convicted of raping a Negro girl college student. They had seized the girl from a parked car in which she was sitting with three other Negroes—whom they frightened away at the point of a shot-gun and a knife—and had raped her seven times.

PERSPECTIVE

defence policy.

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The second position is one taken by many people in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament including a member of its executive committee, Mr. Benn Levy. This position argues that Britain should give up all reliance on nuclear weapons, whether of the home-grown or the American variety, and defend herself by building up conventional forces on a very large scale.

The third position is a very vague one. Britain should give up nuclear weapons in order to create a better climate for negotiations between America and Russia. People who take this view usually have nothing to say about the situation if negotiations fail. One of the most prominent supporters of this position is the British Peace Committee and its attitude is very much conditioned by the rosy view it takes of Russian policy. Its emphasis, too, is on negotiation rather than on unilateral action as the aims of the March for Life organised by the Committee for June 28 show.

The fourth position is the pacifist position. Britain should give up all arms, conventional and nuclear, contract out of the power struggle, and aim to create a new climate by assisting the under-developed areas and building a better society at home.

Printing dispute

Peace News will appear next week with four pages of printed matter (produced before the anticipated stoppage) and a two-page duplicated emergency peace information bulletin. The Board have arranged for the production of a small weekly peace information bulletin in the event of the stoppage continuing. They have not felt it right in the light of the dispute to have the paper printed abroad.

During this crisis there will be an urgent need for many more voluntary helpers on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursday from 8.30 a.m. to 9.30 p.m. at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Readers failing to receive copies from their usual source of supply should inform us at the address above.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Fall-out

THE most effective opportunity for action at the present moment on the question of fall-out and local radiation, consequent radio-active contamination and its effects is through local authorities and their medical officers of health. In our own rural district and in the Wiltshire County Council for example, strong representation has been made to the Minister of Health in the matter and we have found Medical Officers of Health most co-operative.

In order to co-ordinate activity and advise members of local authorities I should be most grateful if any of your readers would furnish information of similar action taken or contemplated by their county borough, urban or rural council. Newspaper cuttings would be most helpful.—**AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, 4 Earls Road, Amesbury, Wilts.**

Omaha project

I HOPE that all Peace News readers in North America who have had some part in non-violent direct action projects such as the "Golden Rule" or who have given them moral and financial support will give the most serious thought to the Call for the Omaha Project. May this be true also of many who have not previously been involved.

I trust they may be led, if at all possible, to come to Omaha and take part personally at some level. If this is out of the question, I hope they will support the Project by contributing financially, by helping to interpret it, or perhaps by taking part in some collateral project nearer home.

My own feeling about the depth of the crisis in which we find ourselves and the need of such projects as this is such that I had to commit myself fully to it and share with Brad Lyttle the responsibilities of a co-ordinator.

Some of those who come to Omaha may take action which will seem unusual or "extreme." Well, the times in which we live are unusual and we can hardly think that the threat of the nuclear holocaust will be averted unless we find new ways of bearing witness, summon fresh courage, and are ready for sacrifice beyond what we have thus far offered. But I can say confidently that racial prejudice is not an easy thing to eradicate, and that individual effort is needed among ourselves and our immigrant friends.

We would be most grateful if any of your readers who are sympathetic to our aims would communicate with us, especially those who live in areas where West Indians have made their homes, as we have had several requests to set up branches in different parts of the country.—**Mrs. FELICITY BOLTON, Joint Secretary, British Caribbean Association, 17 Bishops Bridge Road, London, W.2.**

U.S. conscientious objectors

BY overwhelming vote Congress recently passed a four-year extension of the draft. In view of this continuation of conscription, and the evident need for the kind of help we are equipped to provide, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors recently decided that it should continue to provide services to those men whose consciences reject war.

For example, a young army lieutenant last fall became a conscientious objector shortly after reporting for active duty. His request for discharge was denied by military authorities. CCCO counseled him, arranged for visits and assisted his attorney in a successful effort to secure an honourable discharge.

CCCO is currently assisting a conscientious objector in the Midwest who made a late request for a CO classification. It was denied by the draft board. All appeals failed. He refused to accept induction and was convicted in the US District Court. CCCO helped him to secure an attorney, and has assisted financially his appeal to the US Circuit Court.

We continue to receive a steady stream of requests for the popular "Handbook for Conscientious Objectors." Our new publication, "The Conscientious Objector and the Reserve Officers Training Corps," is in great demand. Each week brings new requests from COs for help.

As long as the draft act continues, freedom of conscience is imperilled. Contributions to CCCO in past years have been of material assurance to these men of conscience in that their rights are being protected and in that they do not stand alone. —**A. J. MUSTE and LYLE TATUM, Co-Chairmen, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.**

I sincerely would have liked to see you discuss these points. The stakes are too high for us not to explore all the means to reach the peace we want.

Your review justifies the emotion into which the subject carries me. To me you have only to look around you to see the tragic plight into which "the fundamental principles of mutual service, personally and internationally" have led us. Such destiny I refuse to accept. This is the only excuse I can offer to my fellowmen for my chastised contribution to this communal problem.—**J. FREIRE D'ANDRADE, 72 Overlook Road, New Rochelle, New York.**

B. G. Cooper writes:—

I welcome M. Freire d'Andrade's further statement of his position, but would reiterate my conclusion that while his book "Freedom Chooses Slavery" contains many individual points of value—such as "life can only be built upon work"—its total analysis of the contemporary situation is faulty, and its message naive to the point of being dangerous.

Have we forfeited liberty? It is true that to some extent the international movement of goods, money, and people is more restricted than a century ago, but this liberty then was only effective for a small class in the West. Liberty of trade for Western capitalism meant a corresponding loss of other liberties for other classes both in the West and in the world as a whole.

Over great areas of the globe, the traditional Western civic liberties of expression and association are still venerated, and the very nature of liberty itself has reached maturity, in the emergence of the concepts of freedom FROM *want and insecurity. If this entails "providers," it is not an intrinsically undesirable state of affairs, as long as the "providers" are responsible to the public. If they merely "manipulate" money without at the same time being concerned with the increase of wealth in the community, of course, an unsound financial position may result, but if government economic supervision is also concerned with expanding production its schemes of social justice through redistribution will be sound.*

I cannot see how this leads to "inter-

Nine months' delay

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

THE story of a Royal Naval man, Brian J. Dent, who during a twelve-year engagement had developed a conscientious objection and had been kept nine months before being allowed to come before the tribunal, caused consternation at the London Appellate Tribunal's session at Ebury Bridge House on June 8.

Commander H. G. G. Ogilvie, holding a watching brief for the Navy, explained the difficulties in giving any priority of consideration for individual applications for dischage.

Brian Dent had applied for his discharge by purchase first in September, 1958. In January, 1959, he was informed his application had been turned down and had been ordered to join HMS Dainty. This he had refused to do on conscientious grounds and had been sentenced to 28 days detention. He had served this sentence and again applied to purchase his discharge. This second application was also rejected and in February he again refused to obey an order and was given 60 days detention.

Under the regulations neither of these sentences qualified for an application to an advisory CO Tribunal and it was only on his third sentence in May that he was given 92 days detention and allowed to apply to the tribunal.

In cases where it sits in an advisory capacity to advise the Forces whether the applicant acted on conscientious grounds when he committed the offence the Tribunal does not announce its decision, but certainly the members listened very carefully to the evidence of his religious conversion and what his minister had to say in support.

Obligation

One of those seeking an unconditional registration before this Tribunal was an accountant, John Knock, who attended Quaker meetings.

He explained clearly that he felt each person's actions were his own responsibility. Only thus could a person follow what light was vouchsafed him: he could not hand over this responsibility for some other person to order him. He said that he did not

pret it, or perhaps by taking part in some collateral project nearer home.

My own feeling about the depth of the crisis in which we find ourselves and the need of such projects as this is such that I had to commit myself fully to it and share with Brad Lyttle the responsibilities of a co-ordinator.

Some of those who come to Omaha may take action which will seem unusual or "extreme." Well, the times in which we live are unusual and we can hardly think that the threat of the nuclear holocaust will be averted unless we find new ways of bearing witness, summon fresh courage, and are ready for sacrifice beyond what we have thus far offered. But I can say confidently that everything is being done to ensure that any action which is taken by the group that rallies at Omaha, or members of it, will be done in the spirit of non-violence and love, not of bitterness or contention, and with a deep desire that these actions shall be understood by workers and officials at the missile base and by our fellow citizens generally.

The workers for peace can gain a hearing today from many more people than was the case some years ago. Action projects during the past two years have opened many minds and touched a good many hearts. May the Omaha Project take us appreciably nearer to the goal of peace which we seek.—**A. J. MUSTE, Omaha Action, P.O. Box 9057, Chicago 90, Illinois, USA.**

Race reconciliation

IN July, 1958, a group of leading West Indians and United Kingdom citizens set up a non-political association under the joint chairmanship of Charles Royle, Labour MP, and Nigel Fisher, Conservative MP, with only two aims :

To foster and develop friendship and understanding between the peoples of the West Indies (including British Guiana and British Honduras) and of the United Kingdom, and

To encourage and stimulate all forms of mutual aid between the peoples of the West Indies (including British Guiana and British Honduras) and of the United Kingdom,

and we have been receiving increasing support during the year.

We are hoping that we shall still further increase our membership, now that people are beginning to realise, as a result of the recent tragic happenings in Notting Hill,

We continue to receive a steady stream of requests for the popular "Handbook for Conscientious Objectors." Our new publication, "The Conscientious Objector and the Reserve Officers Training Corps," is in great demand. Each week brings new requests from COs for help.

As long as the draft act continues, freedom of conscience is imperilled. Contributions to CCCO in past years have been of material assurance to these men of conscience in that their rights are being protected and in that they do not stand alone. —**A. J. MUSTE and LYLE TATUM, Co-Chairmen, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania, USA.**

'Freedom Chooses Slavery'

I AM grateful for your review of "Freedom Chooses Slavery" and to Mr. Cooper also for going over the book. The conclusions he arrives at come, I am sure, from my faulty English, and it is to those which I would like to come back.

I would not say that my thesis is that "unfettered trade and international banking produced an unprecedented degree of global economic advance, personal liberty and the world order of Pax Britannica." I do otherwise try to convey that "personal liberty brought unfettered trade and banking and finally (in the case of the UK) the world order of Pax Britannica."

I do not think the case I try to put forward can be dismissed by sweeping it away with a J. J. Rousseauian shake of the shoulders. It must have been my fault. I advance a few thoughts which I believe should be dealt with before you can arrive at your sweeping conclusions.

We have forfeited liberty. We have embraced government dictation as a creed, for very humanistic purposes; but the fact remains that liberty has become a side issue. I assert and try to prove that there is a very close connection between individual freedom and money. That if you break that connection society becomes exposed to "protectors," to "providers." Whether idealists or demagogues is indifferent because the consequence that comes first to the fore is international disorder.

I try to see how international order was brought about by other generations before ours. And I attempt to put forward the methods by which it was achieved. All this

tional Western civic liberties of expression and association are still venerated, and the very nature of liberty itself has reached maturity, in the emergence of the concepts of freedom FROM *want and insecurity. If this entails "providers," it is not an intrinsically undesirable state of affairs, as long as the "providers" are responsible to the public. If they merely "manipulate" money without at the same time being concerned with the increase of wealth in the community, of course, an unsound financial position may result, but if government economic supervision is also concerned with expanding production its schemes of social justice through redistribution will be sound.*

I cannot see how this leads to "international disorder"—indeed, if only UNO acted in this fashion on a much vaster scale than at present, the prospect of such disorder would surely diminish. The "tragic plight" of the world at the moment has not arisen because mutual service has been tried and found wanting. It has not been adequately tried in the international field.

'War Challenges Christians'

I HAVE had several letters from readers who say they have read in Peace News that the "Guardian" failed to report the meeting in the Albert Hall on May 25. We did, in fact, publish a report of this of which I enclose a cutting. The report did not reach us in time for our earlier editions. This is one of the penalties of publishing in Manchester.—**P. MARKHAM, Deputy Editor, The Manchester Guardian, 3 Cross Street, Manchester 2.**

Our analysis of the Press coverage was based on the London editions. We are glad to print this letter from the Manchester Guardian, which has a much better record than most of the British national dailies for its coverage of pacifist and peace movement activities.—[ED. PN]

I WAS cheered by Mr. Moorhouse telling us that we clergy are not such a bad lot after all! (PN, June 5). I have been a pacifist for 65 years and am one of the first members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. I am afraid we are not very popular with certain of our fellow clergy.

I quite agree with Fred Moorhouse many have got hold of a theology which is entirely foreign to the mind and teaching of Christ. I look forward to my weekly Peace News; it is always a tonic.—**T. BROCK-RICHARDS, Mickleton Vicarage, Campdon, Glos.**

when he committed the offence the Tribunal does not announce its decision, but certainly the members listened very carefully to the evidence of his religious conversion and what his minister had to say in support.

Obligation

One of those seeking an unconditional registration before this Tribunal was an accountant, John Knock, who attended Quaker meetings.

He explained clearly that he felt each person's actions were his own responsibility. Only thus could a person follow what light was vouchsafed him: he could not hand over this responsibility for some other person to order him. He said that he did not regard what was called "National Service" as service to anybody.

When asked by the Chairman, Sir Fred Pritchard, whether he considered he had an obligation to the State in which he lived, he replied that he had an obligation to people in general, but not to the State, and contested the Chairman's equation of "people in general" with the State.

In summing up and explaining why the tribunal were registering him as a conscientious objector on condition that he did specified civil work for two years and sixty days, the Chairman said that they were not satisfied that he had a conscience they could recognise which should exempt him from doing his National Service by way of civilian work and they could not accept the argument that he should not be ordered in this way because that would be quite unfair to a large number of other people.

Michael Tippett's music

THE Music of Michael Tippett is to be the subject for a Summer School to be held at Barlaston, one of the most picturesque villages in the English potteries, from Sunday evening, July 26, to Saturday morning, August 1. Michael Tippett is to visit the school and give a talk and Mr. John Lowe (Music Director of the Midland Region of the BBC) is to bring a select choir of the Midland Regional Singers to give a recital. The Director of Studies is Jasper Rooper, ARCM. Further details may be had from Wedgwood Memorial College, Barlaston, nr. Stoke-on-Trent. Michael Tippett who is President of the Peace Pledge Union, was awarded the CBE in the Queen's Birthday Honours list.

I WENT TO HIROSHIMA

'. . . that tragic, beautiful city, has proved to be the most moving experience of my Japanese journey,' says

ETHEL MANNIN

I HAD put up a resistance to the idea of visiting Hiroshima during my tour of Japan; I needed no converting to the idea that atomic bombs are totally evil because I believe that *all* warfare is totally evil, or the destruction of a single human life. And what would there be to see—a rebuilt modern city . . .

Someone said, a little sharply, "The atomic bomb victims left alive have not been rebuilt."

I knew then that I would go. That I had to go. And Hiroshima, that tragic, beautiful city, has proved to be the most profoundly moving experience of my whole Japanese journey, which has covered an area from Hokkaido in the far north to Nagasaki in the extreme limit of the west.

A young Japanese of no religious beliefs said to me in Nagasaki that though that city had suffered so terribly too the atmosphere there was quite different, for some indefinable reason; that in Hiroshima it was "somehow religious." I knew what he meant, and I believe that the reason why Hiroshima has this atmosphere is because it is somehow dedicated to the child victims of the atomic bomb.

Spirit of prayer

The memorial to the children, which stands at one end of the Peace Park—a vast bombed area now planted with trees and grass and flowers—was inspired by the death of a twelve-year-old schoolgirl who died of radiation disease when she had made only some 600 of the 1,000 paper cranes she had set out to make, in pursuance of the old legend that to make 1,000 is to get one's wish. Perhaps her wish was to get well; perhaps it was the wish that there should be no more such terrible suffering as had blasted Hiroshima and Nagasaki—and her own young life. I met her mother but I did not ask her; there are questions one does not ask.

But certain it is that all the children and adults who make a thousand paper cranes now make them in the spirit of a prayer for peace. There are those who count their rosary beads in repetitive prayer; others make cranes; the prayers of some are for salvation in some hypothetical future life; the prayer of those who make the paper cranes is for life here and now on the good earth; the only life of which we are sure, the life blood running warmly in our veins here and now.

which dropped the atomic bombs on an already defeated country, and it is America which can contemplate the use of even more deadly bombs in a future war. And send them to Sweden, I said, which has its own ambitions for nuclear weapons, and to Switzerland, the traditionally neutral country, which also hankers after a bomb of its own. . .

Dedicated to children

Ropes of paper chains swing from under the arch of the tripod-shaped children's monument in Hiroshima's beautiful Peace Park—that monument dedicated to the children, and subscribed for by children and children's movements, and specially associated with the young girl who died before her symbolic task was completed. On top of the monument stands a child with uplifted arms and two more children with raised, supplicating arms stand at either side below the central figure.

A Japanese girl told me that the design of the monument is intended to suggest the horizon—"because the cranes are always flying in to the mountains in the evenings," she said, "and the mountains are our horizon here in Hiroshima."

I don't know whether this was just fancifulness on her part or whether it was in fact the intention of the artist who created it, and it hardly matters; all that matters is that the monument is singularly beautiful and profoundly moving. Only one other thing in Japan has so deeply moved me, and that is when in Nagasaki I stood in front of Dr. Nagai's little house—hardly more than a wooden hut—in which he wrote ten books from his sick-bed. He died in 1951 at the age of 43.

One of his books was translated into English under the title "We of Nagasaki." I reviewed it when it first came out in England, and was deeply moved by it, and I could not know then that one day I would go to Nagasaki and stand by the humble house in which this saintly man spent the

the point of view of the militarists it was no error; what it in fact was, was a *human tragedy*. Should not the words be—written in both English and Japanese—"this *tragedy*, or this *crime*, shall never be repeated"?

Invisible damage

The world now knows that one of the men who dropped the bomb has ended up mentally unbalanced, unable to sustain the terrible burden of guilt for the deaths of over 240,000 men, women and children, over 50,000 seriously injured, and over 100,000 slightly injured—and "slight" in connection with atomic injury is a relative expression.

As the medical superintendent at the Hiroshima hospital for victims of the atomic bomb explained to me, the burn scars to be seen on people terrible as they appear are not the worst injury; more terrible is the invisible damage—and the profound psychological damage done to people who feel themselves a people apart. Which in fact they are, for no one knowingly marries an atomic bomb victim for fear of the genetic hazard, so that people who are not externally recognisable as atomic victims keep quiet about it—even to the extent of keeping away from hospital when they know themselves to be ill, keeping their terrible secret to the point of death.

They keep away from hospital, too, for economic reasons, for if a married man is hospitalised, who is going to support his wife and family during that time? He may get 2,000 yen (about £2) State assistance a month during that time, but how can his family exist on that? It is hard enough to exist on the 8,000-12,000 yen a month he was probabaly earning as a factory worker.

in good health; then had come the onset of dizziness and diagnosis of cancer of the thyroid gland. She was admitted to hospital in February, 1955, and died in October of that year.

Groping for something to say to these people who had so courageously and courteously come to meet me I could only say that perhaps they had had to suffer in this way so that never again should human beings have to know this terrible thing . . . and tell them that they were not forgotten by the outside world. I thanked them for coming to meet me; they smiled and bowed and in turn thanked me. . . .

Never again . . .

I lacked the courage to repeat the experience at the Nagasaki atomic bomb hospital. I met some of the badly scarred "Hiroshima maidens." That is another story—both tragic and valiant.

But that is the whole story of Hiroshima city—tragic and valiant; physically incredibly beautiful in its mountain setting and with its white new buildings, of a classical grace despite their modernity; and spiritually incredibly beautiful and intolerably moving . . . but its beauty and tragedy is a story which must be told over and over again until it is branded into the soul of man in the assurance that there shall be never again, in our lifetime or any future generation's, a repetition of the crime that was "Hiroshima."

War has proved to be the proximate cause of the breakdown of every civilisation which is known for certain to have broken down, in so far as it has been not

to get well; perhaps it was the wish that there should be no more such terrible suffering as had blasted Hiroshima and Nagasaki—and her own young life. I met her mother but I did not ask her; there are questions one does not ask.

But certain it is that all the children and adults who make a thousand paper cranes now make them in the spirit of a prayer for peace. There are those who count their rosary beads in repetitive prayer; others make cranes; the prayers of some are for salvation in some hypothetical future life; the prayer of those who make the paper cranes is for life here and now on the good earth; the only life of which we are sure, the life blood running warmly in our veins here and now.

The paper crane movement is nation wide now in Japan, and it bids fair to become a world movement. Some young people of the movement asked me what I thought of the idea of sending some boxes of paper cranes to Germany; I said I thought it a good idea, but send them too to America, I said, for it was America the intention of the artist who created it, and it hardly matters; all that matters is that the monument is singularly beautiful and profoundly moving. Only one other thing in Japan has so deeply moved me, and that is when in Nagasaki I stood in front of Dr. Nagai's little house—hardly more than a wooden hut—in which he wrote ten books from his sick-bed. He died in 1951 at the age of 43.

One of his books was translated into English under the title "We of Nagasaki." I reviewed it when it first came out in England, and was deeply moved by it, and I could not know then that one day I would go to Nagasaki and stand by the humble house in which this saintly man spent the last six years of his doomed life. He was already a sick man, suffering from leukaemia, in 1945, but he worked with the bomb victims and himself developed "radiation disease."

Tombstone message

In all his books he stressed the iniquity of the bomb as man's final inhumanity to man. I did not know that he had died, and when I was taken to his hut and looked in at his modest possessions I had a sense of personal loss. There never was a time when the world more desperately needed its saints, its dedicated people.

At the other end of the Hiroshima Peace Park there is another memorial in the shape of an arch, below which is a stone chest containing the names of all the people known to have perished in 1945, and into which go the names of those who have died since of radiation disease in one form or another, and the most terrible and common form of which is cancer of the blood. Every year another name—or names—is added.

Inscribed on the front of this tombstone in the characters of the Japanese language are the words which may be translated as "Repose in peace, for the error shall never be repeated." Many Japanese object to this inscription. In the first place, they say, it should not be written in Japanese, since it was not Japanese people who dropped the bomb; it should have been written in English. In the second place they ask if the wording is apt—whether error, mistake, is in fact the right word.

The bomb was not dropped in error; it was not a tragic mistake regretted by those who dropped it; it was justified as finally terminating the war in the Pacific. From Which in fact they are, for no one knowingly marries an atomic bomb victim for fear of the genetic hazard, so that people who are not externally recognisable as atomic victims keep quiet about it—even to the extent of keeping away from hospital when they know themselves to be ill, keeping their terrible secret to the point of death.

They keep away from hospital, too, for economic reasons, for if a married man is hospitalised, who is going to support his wife and family during that time? He may get 2,000 yen (about £2) State assistance a month during that time, but how can his family exist on that? It is hard enough to exist on the 8,000-12,000 yen a month he was probabaly earning as a factory worker.

I said to the Mayor of Hiroshima, who kindly found time to receive me, that what his city needed desperately was more money. He agreed and said that the problem was receiving government consideration. It had already agreed, I learned later on at Beppu, the hot-spring spa, to allot 1,000,000 yen for the establishment of a clinic there for A-bomb victims, Professor Osama Hatta, of the Institute of Balneotherapeutics of Kyushu University, having discovered that balneotherapeutics were of value in certain radiation diseases—but not for cancer cases.

'Sea of fire'

At the A-bomb victims' hospital in Hiroshima six patients were good enough to allow themselves to be presented to me. They consisted of a girl of 18, who was exposed to radiation at the age of three, a woman of about 38, a woman of about 70, a middle-aged man, and a younger man who had been a soldier and who, having been rescued from very close to the hypocentre of the bomb, could consider his existence nothing less than a miracle, the sister told me. Both he and the old woman spoke of being buried under buildings and of a "sea of fire."

The soldier laughed; the old woman's lips quivered and tears came; the soldier repeated his story twice. All expressed the wish that there should be no repetition of so terrible a thing in the world again. The old woman had lost her children by the bomb, the sister told me. She was a regular attender at the hospital. The most sick among them was the young girl.

They none of them *looked* ill. It was the deep inner injury of which the doctor had spoken. (The little paper crane making girl had been exposed at the age of two; in her fifth grade at school she had seemed city—tragic and valiant; physically incredibly beautiful in its mountain setting and with its white new buildings, of a classical grace despite their modernity; and spiritually incredibly beautiful and intolerably moving . . . but its beauty and tragedy is a story which must be told over and over again until it is branded into the soul of man in the assurance that there shall be never again, in our lifetime or any future generation's, a repetition of the crime that was "Hiroshima."

War has proved to be the proximate cause of the breakdown of every civilisation which is known for certain to have broken down, in so far as it has been possible to analyse the nature of these breakdowns and to account for their occurrence.
—Arnold Toynbee.

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1. Send notices to arrive first post Monday.

2. Include Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, June 19

KINGSTON: 8 p.m. New Malden Public Lib., Mtg. Benn Levy, Antoinette Pirie, John Horner.

LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m. Left Book Lib., above Partisan Coffee Ho., 7 Carlisle St. "Morality in World Affairs." Reg Sorensen. LPF.

POOLE: 7.30 p.m. Centenary Hall. Address by Col. G. Taylor, "Radiation Hazards." Reply by Capt. R. A. Pilkington, MP. Bournemouth CND.

Saturday, June 20

BRIGHTON: 2.30-6 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ship St. Garden Party & Fete. CND.

ENFIELD: 6.30 p.m. Geo. Spicer's Sch. Hall, Dr. Don Arnott, George Doughty. CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. "Voter's Veto," Michael Randle. PPU Religion Commission.

PLYMOUTH: 2.30 p.m. Friends Mtg., Ho., Swarthmore, Mutley Plain. Meeting Devon and Cornwall Mems. 4.30 p.m. Tea, 5.30 p.m. poster parade. PPU.

STAINES: 2.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Conference for Trade Unionists. Ernie Roberts, Clive Jenkins, Bill Robinson. CND.

Sunday, June 21

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: 5.30-9.30 p.m. Town Moor, John Horner, K. Zilliacus, MP. CND.

Tuesday, June 23

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Francis Jude. CND.

LONDON, N.W.6: 8 p.m. Anson Hall, Chiele Rd., Nigel Calder and Film show. CND.

LONDON, S.W.14: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. Community Development in Britain. E. N. Burke. PPU.

Thursday, June 25

GODALMING: 7.30 p.m. Green St. Hall. A. J. P. Taylor. CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Group Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 47 Netherall Gdns. (Flat 7) betw. Hampstead and Finchley Rd. Stn. "Pacifism and The World View." Arlo Tatum. PPU.

Friday, June 26

HOUNSLOW: 7.30 p.m. "Red Lion," High St. Mtg. for Trade Unionists. John Horner, Eric Hutchison, Jim Mortimer, Harry Francis. CND.

Saturday, June 27

HALIFAX: 2.30-8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Clare St. "Racial Justice and the Future of Africa." A. W. Blaxall, Tamali Ssali, H. G. Cross. FoR.

LEEDS, 2: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Carlton Hill. Film show — Aldermaston and Swaffham. Refreshments tkt. 2s. 6d. Dancing. CND.

RUGBY: From 9.30 a.m. Church St. Mkt. Peace Book Stall. PPU.

Sunday, June 28

COULSDON: 3 p.m. 87 Chaldon Way. "Pacifism and Direct Action." Michael Randle. PPU.

LONDON, S.E.6: 8 p.m. St. Dunstan's Hall, Brookehowse Rd. Films, including "Mahatma Gandhi: Portrait of Power" (BBC Television Film). APF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq. "Seven Veils that Hide Truth." Antony Bates. Pacifist Universalist Service.

Tuesday, June 30

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU Members welcome. London Area PPU.

STEVENAGE: 8 p.m. 54 Sish Lane. Discussion on CND Sept. Campaign Week. CND.

Tuesday, June 30—Wednesday, July 1

LONDON, W.1: Midnight for 36 hrs. Picket outside American Embassy in support Omaha. PYAG.

A bark of thanks for this doggy honour

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

LET me acknowledge an honour which has been bestowed upon me. I'm a little envious that my colleague John Stonehouse should share this distinction with me. After all, his service is only ten years compared with my fifty, and these high recognitions should be reserved only for jubilee occasions. Yet, on second thoughts, he deserves it. I put unworthy jealousy aside. He has done fifty years in ten.

What is this honour under which we bow? Raise your glasses in congratulation. We have been made honorary members of The International Doghouse Club on the nomination of the Exchange Bar Branch, Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. Wow! Wow!

I think I must frame the Certificate of Membership and hang it on my wall. It is printed green on white, twelve inches by nine, and reads as follows:

THE INTERNATIONAL DOGHOUSE CLUB

Exchange Bar, Bulawayo Branch.

GREETINGS.

Know All Men by these Presents that:

Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP,

has exhibited an unfailing and unflagging ability to do the "Wrong Thing" at both the right and wrong times; has shown himself at best to be but passing repentant; has brought to disrepute such honoured terms as "hound," "cur," "pi—dog," and many others, and is therefore in all respects a right and proper person for relegation to the

DOGHOUSE

and being thus deserving of all sympathy from his fellow Doghouse Dwellers, he is hereby granted unrestricted Authority to obtain thereby due mede of sympathy and to enjoy such other rights and duties as may arise from his election as

MEMBER.

Issued under my paw, from No. 1 Kennel.

A Labour Government could run a Bill through Parliament to provide an African majority in the Nyasaland Legislature and Executive, and to have elections in time to make sure that the Protectorate would be represented at the Constitutional Conference by real spokesmen of the people. This would mean undoubtedly that Nyasaland's vote would go in favour of secession from the Federation.

The Constitution of Northern Rhodesia was revised last year, but, even if it be left as it is, the view of a British Labour Government could be made to prevail in the Legislature through a combination of the "official" members (required to vote according to London instructions) and the Opposition. This would not necessarily affect the attitude of the Executive Council in which there is not an "official" majority, but it is doubtful whether the EC would defy London and thus challenge further constitutional changes in a democratic direction.

INTERFERENCE?

It will be seen, therefore, that a Labour victory in Britain, backed on this issue by the Liberals, might actually secure that three of the five Governments engaged in the Central African Federation Constitutional review would stand for the right of the peoples of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, including, of course, the African majorities, to decide their own future.

I can imagine how angry my fellow-members of the Doghouse Club in Bulawayo will be as they read this in the bar of the Exchange. They will need stiff drinks!

"What right has London to interfere with our future?" they will ask. I sympathise with them. The sooner the hand of London

CLASSIFIED

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Thursday, July 2

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. "Love, or what is an H-Bomb?" Carol Taylor. PPU.

Saturday, July 4

BIRMINGHAM: 2.30 p.m. Institutional Church, Pound Rd., Warley. Area Gdn. Party. PPU.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner Pacifist Forum. PYAG

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

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3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4

shown himself at best to be but passing repentant; has brought to disrepute such honoured terms as "hound," "cur," "pi—dog," and many others, and is therefore in all respects a right and proper person for relegation to the

DOGHOUSE

and being thus deserving of all sympathy from his fellow Doghouse Dwellers, he is hereby granted unrestricted Authority to obtain thereby due mede of sympathy and to enjoy such other rights and duties as may arise from his election as

MEMBER.

Issued under my paw, from No. 1 Kennel.

Signed.....C. F. Gastin, Top Dog,

for the International Doghouse Club, Exchange Bar, Bulawayo Branch.

An accompanying letter from Mr. Gastin records that the certificate of membership has been awarded for my "untiring efforts on behalf of the Central African Federation."

I am deeply moved. Sometimes one feels that one's efforts go unrecognised. My faith in the generosity of man is restored from Bulawayo.

I am asked to acknowledge the receipt of this honour. Now that I have suitably done so, let me say that it is good to find that the habitués of the bar at the Exchange at Bulawayo have some sense of humour, twisted though it may be. There is always hope while men can laugh.

Pity no Africans are permitted to enter the bar to laugh with them. Good laughers, these Africans.

CRISIS

I wonder if the Europeans in their bars in Bulawayo are discussing what we are discussing. The crisis in their Federation.

Its Constitution is to be reviewed at a conference of five Governments in October next year—the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Federation, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. No one knows at this moment who will compose these Governments.

Before October, 1960, we shall have a General Election in Britain. Will Tories or Socialists represent the United Kingdom at the Constitutional talks?

A Labour victory in Britain could also alter the composition or attitude of the representation from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

It will be seen, therefore, that a Labour victory in Britain, backed on this issue by the Liberals, might actually secure that three of the five Governments engaged in the Central African Federation Constitutional review would stand for the right of the peoples of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, including, of course, the African majorities, to decide their own future.

I can imagine how angry my fellow-members of the Doghouse Club in Bulawayo will be as they read this in the bar of the Exchange. They will need stiff drinks!

"What right has London to interfere with our future?" they will ask. I sympathise with them. The sooner the hand of London is removed from Central Africa and all Africa the happier I shall be.

But on one condition: that power is transferred democratically to all the people of Central Africa.

Britain has the responsibility of protecting the African populations of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. British Labour is not going to hand them over to the control of a minority of European settlers. We shall hasten to withdraw British power as soon as democracy is established in Central Africa.

NO TRUCE

The fear of the consequences of a Labour Government in Britain is leading to a series of manœuvres in Central Africa and London. The Tories want to tie down Labour to an agreed policy with them. They have therefore proposed that a joint Commission should go to Central Africa to prepare united proposals and that meanwhile there should be a political truce about Central Africa. That would take us over the General Election.

Lord Home, the Minister for Commonwealth Relations, has taken this proposal to Central Africa, but Sir Roy Welensky has insisted that the Federal Government should participate in any preparatory Commission. It remains to be seen how the Tories will react to that.

I think I can say that Labour will not agree to any political truce about Central Africa. I don't think they will agree to join any preparatory Commission with the Federal Government.

When the Labour Front Bench proposed a joint Parliamentary Commission at the time of the Nyasaland crisis they had in mind a fact-finding Commission which would report to the House of Commons. That is a very different proposal from an inter-Party Commission concerned with the whole future of the Federation and which would silence our voices until it reported.

There are deep divergences in principle between Labour and the Liberals, on the one hand, and the Tories and the European settler Governments on the other.

We believe in the right of the peoples of Central Africa, not the right of a small European minority, to decide the future of these territories. By that democratic principle we must stand.

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PEACE NEWS

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ACTION BEGINS AGAINST NORTHANTS ROCKET BASES

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

TWENTY-TWO pickets from the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War were outside the rocket base at Harrington (Northants) last Saturday.

Two men who came along to the site to apply for jobs there changed their minds when they saw the pickets and decided to seek work elsewhere. This has been given publicity in the local press.

The rocket base workers went to work half an hour earlier on Saturday in order to avoid the pickets and a barricade was erected with special notices prohibiting entry. All contractors lorries had to halt at the barrier before proceeding, and this provided an opportunity for the pickets to talk with the drivers and give them leaflets. Many Press and camera-men were present.

Later in the day when it became clear that the pickets were not concerned with entering the base the barriers were removed, and the site foreman brought tea out to the women pickets.

There has been much local support from pacifists and members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. A site for the caravan headquarters was provided by Godric and Doreen Bader.

Pickets were expected to discuss the campaign with the local Trades Council this week.

They had planned to enter a new base at Melton Mowbray, where work is about to begin last night (Thursday).

They planned to take tents and to stay there until removed.

Air Force gives way

The Press and television were also present in force at the Rattlesden rocket site in Suffolk where the Direct Action Committee began another campaign on Saturday. About twelve people took part in a picket of the base on Saturday. On Sunday the neighbouring villages were leafletted.

When Will Warren, the organiser of the picket, first approached the police and told them of the Committee's intention, he was informed that the Air Force authorities would not allow pickets at the gate of the site. (It is necessary to go through disused Air Ministry property to get to the gate.) Will Warren said he would ignore this refusal by the Air Force. The police then agreed to approach the Air Force authorities once more. After some bargaining it was agreed that four people could picket the main gate.

Yorks. pacifists hear about peace army

THE Yorkshire Area of the PPU recently held a successful Summer School at Ilkley, led by Arlo Tatum, of the War Resisters' International. Speaking on the subject of non-violence, he said it implied the golden rule "To love one's neighbour as one's self." To be peacemakers we should be loving persons, at peace with ourselves.

In the second session of the Conference, he spoke about the non-violent social order brigade, or peace army, initiated by Vinoba Bhave in India to replace armed force. They were to operate in such tensions as those between Communists and Catholics in and among linguistic minorities. Recruiting requirements included the following: Faith in God and in success, spiritual and physical fitness, fearlessness and internal discipline and no political party or domestic ties.

Commenting on the Summer School, Antony Cadbury told Peace News:

"The loving care and natural quality of the whole gathering was an inspiration to go forward in the non-violent way of life, personally and in joint actions such as race relations open-air meetings and picketing a rocket base near Selby."

YOUTH ACTIVITY

Nearly 500 copies of Peace News were distributed by PPU and PYAG members in Bradford on Sunday, May 24. Bradford PYAG leader, David Warburton, has recently been elected to the Executive of the Shipley Constituency Labour Party, which

USE UN TO STOP TESTS

A STRONG appeal to the South African Government to declare the country firmly on the side of those trying to stop nuclear tests was made in the Union Parliament on June 4 by Dr. C. de Wet, a Nationalist.

Speaking during a debate on the Health Vote, he said that the Government should raise the matter at the next meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, and try to mobilise the whole of the Commonwealth against nuclear tests, and should use the forum of the United Nations to get world support for their cessation.

"By what right do powers conduct experiments which can mean the death of future generations—and that in times of peace?"

"This is a real and urgent threat to the

Strontium 90 not a genetic risk

WAR—THE DANGER

WHILST any increase in radiation is bad, the Strontium 90 fall-out from H-bomb tests did not present a GENETIC risk, Prof. Lionel S. Penrose, a leading British geneticist, told a London audience recently.

"There is no direct evidence that it does any harm, even though it does get into people's bones," he added.

Prof. Penrose, who was a member of a Peace Pledge Union "Any Questions" panel, had earlier stated that the long-term effects of fall-out from tests were not to be compared in any way with the immediate effects in a nuclear war.

When one bomb was dropped on Hiro-

Central African Federation

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

LOOKING beyond the present troubles in Nyasaland the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union declares in a statement issued to the Press last week that whatever may be the findings and outcome of the Devlin Commission the British Government should declare now that there will be no definitive decision made regarding the relationship of Nyasaland to Northern and Southern Rhodesia in a Central African Federation until the people of Nyasaland are in a position to make this decision for themselves, democratically.

The Council declared that the primary need is to take immediate steps to develop in the people of Nyasaland the political capacity to control their own affairs democratically.

To this end the Colonial Office should convene a Constituent Assembly on which every section of the people of Nyasaland would be adequately represented. That Assembly should be asked to decide on the measures that will be required, such as development of education and the introduction into administrative posts of an increasing number of the native population. The Assembly should fix an agreed date for ending the intermediate period of development, after which Colonial Office control would be brought to an end, giving place

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"Mother Courage and her Children," is to be performed on BBC TV on June 30 with Flora Robson in the title part.

The Iona Community's 21st anniversary will be featured in a BBC TV programme on June 29.

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"By what right do powers conduct experiments which can mean the death of future generations—and that in times of peace?"

"This is a real and urgent threat to the entire human race, including our own people," he declared.

The Health Minister, in replying, said that this was not really the concern of his department. Radio-active radiation was an international matter and was really the concern of the Department of External Affairs.

Dr. de Wet, it is reported, has been sent a list of the publications on nuclear disarmament printed in Peace News on May 29.

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Prof. Penrose, who was a member of a Peace Pledge Union "Any Questions" panel, had earlier stated that the long-term effects of fall-out from tests were not to be compared in any way with the immediate effects in a nuclear war.

When one bomb was dropped on Hiroshima blood cancer was caused in those exposed and some pregnant mothers gave birth to deformed children; by comparison the genetic effects on future generations were negligible.

"What one ought to attack is war," he declared.

Leslie Hale, MP, has been elected Chairman of the Labour Peace Fellowship for the coming year, and Frank Allaun, MP, vice-chairman.

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The PPU Council believes that when a workable constituent assembly has been brought together it will become possible for the first time to conduct the affairs of the territory on the basis of racial partnership. It was, however, essential that there should be a fixed date which can be relied upon by the peoples who will be asked to accept continued tutelage on a temporary basis.

By Sybil Morrison

PLAIN MADNESS

The least that is required is a declaration that if a Labour Government is elected it would stop the manufacture of nuclear weapons and try to persuade all Britain's allies to rely on the American deterrent. That would not be pacifism or unilateral disarmament, but plain common sense—The Observer, June 14, 1959.

UNDER the heading DEFENCE, The Observer argued in its leader on Sunday that the true interests of both Britain and France would be best served by the restriction of nuclear weapons to America and Russia in order to maintain "a mutual balance of terror," and that these weapons should be denied to all other countries.

It is assumed in this scheme that Britain must provide all facilities in the way of bases in this country which the USA may think it needs for preserving this "mutual balance of terror." The Observer, indeed, presses it very strongly that the very first thing Britain should do is to prove clearly to the USA that if General Norstad wishes to station more American fighter-bombers in this country, he should be encouraged to do so.

Be it said, however, this argument includes the policy that Britain should give up her own independent "deterrent," should stop the manufacture of nuclear weapons and devote the money now spent on this to building up a strong strategic reserve of conventional weapons. This conception of "defence," with a detailed analysis of how it should be carried out, is called "plain common sense"!

It certainly is true that it is not pacifism, nor is it unilateral disarmament as pacifists understand that phrase; it is, however, much more like plain madness, than anything to do with sanity and sense.

The only thing that is plain in the suggestion is its complete lack of any vision of peace; there is nothing here but a cliche-ridden conception of the word "defence," a conception which has, in fact, brought the nations of the world not only to the edge of an abyss from which they may well shrink, but to the insane policy of living for ever on its edge in "mutual terror."

In the past great armaments have been built up because nations believed in using them in various circumstances, and were accustomed to the idea that to fight was a brave and necessary part of a nation's foreign policy. They were ready then to go to war with each other, and since they were equipped for just that purpose, believed in equipping themselves, not only to fight, but to achieve victory.

Slowly, steadily and inexorably this policy has led to the use of weapons designed to destroy in so total a way that one person pulling a switch or pressing a button could by so doing destroy a whole city and tens of thousands of human beings in a split second.

This insane policy of total destruction can obviously win nothing for anyone but disaster, and it is clear that it must be as total in its abandonment as it has been in its admittance; in fact, the dilemma cannot be resolved in any other way than the way of total peace.

To save the human race by mutual terror is a contradiction in terms, for there can be no safety or security based upon such a shifting foundation as fear and horror. The idea itself is so terrifying it seems extraordinary that anyone could possibly find any comfort in it, let alone think of it as "common sense."

Terror may deter for a time, and indeed it has obviously done so, but to rely upon the ability to destroy one's fellow human beings wholesale is so totally immoral and evil that it is clear no good could possibly emerge from it.

Unilateral abandonment of the H-bomb, should the Labour Party adopt the policy to which they are exhorted by The Observer, certainly has nothing to do with unilateral disarmament or pacifism. War itself is entrenched in this conception of "common sense defence," yet it is war itself that has brought about the dilemma in which nations now find themselves as they stand aghast upon the brink.

The revolution that the world awaits will not be brought about until the entrenchment of war has been assailed and defeated. This is the pacifist task.

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